

The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 8,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,
I HAVE now to congratulate you on an important acquisition to the principles we avow, which I trust will be the means of advancing many indecisive, wavering persons to an open advocacy of the political sentiments laid down as the basis of Republicanism in the writings of Thomas Paine, and copied into the pages of "The Republican." In consequence of an expressed wish, in addressing you in the third number of this publication, that Mr. Cobbett would give some reasons to the people of this country why he would wish them not to seek a Republican form of Government, or a complete Representative System, that gentleman has thought proper to address me in a public letter in answer to the wish expressed; which letter is not in his usual style, and gives us no information on the point whatever, for all his objections on the matter in question are now reduced to an avowal, that "*it is matter of taste*," mere personal taste, that has induced him so often to denounce Republican Government. The shape of our hats, the cut of our coats, or the colour of our hose, form matters of taste, but it is something quite new in the political world to hear that forms of Government are matters of taste. With me they are not matters of taste: they are matters of good or bad principle, morality or immorality, humanity or inhumanity, and relate to general good or evil, and not to matters of individual taste, or in other words, to mere whim and caprice. Whatever relates to general interest cannot be matter of individual taste, or rather, beyond practical Republican principle—individual taste cannot justly controul general interest. However, that you may have a full view of the matter, and give it the very best consideration, and that you

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may be assured that the great Mr. Cobbett himself can find no argument, or shew no cause why you ought not to persevere in a support and propagation of the political principles of Thomas Paine, I will insert his letter verbatim, and shew you that to form an excuse for not answering the call upon him, Mr. Cobbett has made some erroneous assumptions as to my opinions and principles. His letter is as follows, extracted from the 5th Number of the 41st Volume of his Register:—

“ To MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

“ *Kensington, 27 January, 1822.*

“ SIR,—You have publicly, and in a tone somewhat imperious, called upon me to state the *reasons*, on which I ground my dislike to *Republican Government*. I might as well call upon you (which I am by no means disposed to do) for the reasons on which you have grounded your change from the religion of Mr. Paine to that of M. Mirabeau; that is to say, from Deism to Atheism. It is matter of *taste*; and, when we are ourselves complaining of *persecution for opinions*, we should be careful how we attempt to controul the opinions of others. I have merely stated my *opinion of Republican Government*, as you have yours about what is to take place in the next world, and, surely, I am as likely to be well informed with regard to the former as you are with regard to the latter. However, if, in the absence of that elaborate confession of political faith, which you demand and against which I protest, a practical anecdote or two will afford you any satisfaction, here they are at your service. In the year 1819, a man was tried in NEW JERSEY, under the Act of King William III. for *impugning the Holy Trinity*, found guilty and punished by imprisonment in the common jail. A few years before Mr. PAINE’s death, a man *shot at him*, through the window of his own farm-house, as he was sitting by his fire-side, missed him, indeed, but sent the ball and slugs into a table, or some other thing, near him. The man, who had no hesitation in *acknowledging and boasting* of the deed, was held to bail, tried and acquitted amidst a *cheering audience!* Mr. PAINE tendered his vote at an election in the county where his farm lay. *They would not let him vote.* He brought his action against the parties, lost his cause, and had to *pay costs!* These, I take it, which are facts quite notorious, might suffice; but, I will just add, that the Republican, BINNS, who slipped his head out of the noose at Maidstone, leaving that of poor FATHER O’QUIGLEY in it, keeps a newspaper-office at Philadelphia, which was, in 1817 and 1818, also an office for *openly trafficking in places* under the government of Pennsylvania; that particular instances of this trafficking, with names, sums and all the circum-

stances and proofs, were laid, in the form of petitions, before the Legislature; and that the Legislature *passed to the order of the day!* Not to tire you with a thousandth part of what you have so loudly called for, let me conclude with a caution that may be of real use. You talk about *this*, and *that*, which *you will say to the Americans if you ever go to that country*. Now, if you were, in that country, to put forth a paper, dated "*in the year 1822 of the Carpenter's wife's son*," you would, as surely as your name is Richard Carlile, be instantly dressed in a coat of tar and feathers, and, in that dress, be ridden *bare-rumped upon a rail*, till you dropped off by the side of some wood or swamp, where you would be left to ruminate on the wisdom (to say nothing of the modesty) of setting up for a maker of span-new governments and religions.

"With as deep an abhorrence of persecution and of your persecutors as you can yourself feel, and with a determination not, on any account, again to trespass on your time,

"I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,
"WM. COBBETT."

If in this letter I could have perceived that it was a matter of duty, or respect due, on my part, to Mr. Cobbett, to have addressed him a public answer, I certainly should have done it, as I feel the same disposition towards him at this moment as I have always felt; I feel that he is an important character on the political stage, and a man whose esteem I would rather seek to excite than his anger; but as I perceive he forbids the discussion I have sought, I will seek it no further, but content myself by shewing you, to the best of my ability, that the political writings of Thomas Paine are unanswerable and unobjectionable in their moral, social, and political relations, and the reason that no solid objections have been advanced against them is, that it is an impossibility, and beyond even the powers of Mr. Cobbett. But if Mr. Cobbett should continue to denounce the Republican form, or Representative System of Government, in the fullest sense of the word, without accompanying such denunciation with the necessary reasons for so doing, I shall feel called upon again to ask for those reasons, not in an *imperious tone*, but in the spirit of free discussion and calm and fair enquiry.

In proceeding to state my complaints of some phrases in Mr. Cobbett's letter, I would first observe, that I cannot admit my *tone* to have been *imperious* in calling upon him to state his reasons for objecting to a Republican form of Government, and advising others, even all the Reformers, to do

the same, however impulsive Mr. Cobbett might have felt the language used. I must request every reader to refer to the 3d Number of the present Volume of "The Republican," and judge for himself, whether I merit the charge of having been imperious upon the matter. I felt it to be an important matter, but I will not plead guilty to an imperious feeling. If Mr. Cobbett had not introduced the subject by a sort of request, that I would reconsider the propriety of giving a publication the epithet of *Republican*, I should not have presumed, at this moment, to have questioned the propriety of his objection to that epithet, and to have asked for reasons. I was driven to a defence of a principle professed, and I hope I shall never make a profession of a principle which I fear or feel ashamed to defend.

The second sentence of the letter has another error; it represents that I have changed "from the religion of Mr. Paine to that of M. Mirabeau; that is to say, from Deism to Atheism." Now the fact is, I have never changed my opinions upon this head since I first began to think upon it, and to investigate it, or since I first gave the Theological Works of Paine a thorough reading. I never expressed a coincidence in all the opinions of Paine upon the subject of religion, and all those which ever had, still have my coincidence: and if Mr. Cobbett, or any other person, can dispute my assertion by a reference to any thing I have ever said or written, I challenge the exposition. I adhere to that God of Nature of which Mr. Paine writes, and of whom his language is sublime and beautiful in the extreme; but I reject what Mr. Paine retained upon the subject of spirituality, or souls, or future existences that shall be sensible of the present. This objection I stated to the men who sent me to this Gaol, in open court, and told them that with this exception I supported every other opinion and principle of Mr. Paine. I now find myself in exact the same disposition as then, with the exception, that I have clearer ideas, or such as are more satisfactory to my own mind, of the principles of materialism, or matter and motion, from a further investigation of the subject.

In M. Mirabeau's System of Nature I know no one sentence or opinion but has my coincidence, and this because he has exploded all idea of spirituality; but I would tell Mr. Cobbett, that Mirabeau was not an Atheist, in the vulgar acceptation of the word. He wrote a long article in his System of Nature on Deity, in which he makes it clear that no man of science, or man of sense, can be an Atheist upon

the vulgar sense of that word, and that, in fact, there can be no such a man as an Atheist; or no man of sense, or with the faculty of thought, but must admit a great controuling power in Nature, or as Nature, and that this power is the only Supreme Being, the only God, or whatever other name or idea might be attached to it. Without meaning the least offence, or without the least ill nature, I hesitate not to assert, that M. Mirabeau was not more an Atheist than is Mr. Cobbett at this moment; and I do not know that I can pay Mr. C. a greater compliment, or confer a higher honour upon him, than to mention his name in conjunction with that of the author of the *System of Nature*.

I do not reject the appellation of Atheist, if any man thinks proper to bestow it upon me, but I do not assume that appellation, and that upon the principle above stated. I recognize a great controuling power as Nature, or in Nature: I call it the God of Nature, and myself a Deist. Paine went this far, but had an abhorrence of the word *Atheism*, without giving it a fair consideration. The words *Deism* and *Atheism*, upon my view of them, differ more in sound than in meaning. In one point of view they are considered an antithesis, but on a close investigation and definition, they are not so in reality, but are as near as possible words of the same import in relation to idolatry. If Mr. Cobbett wishes any further explanation upon this matter, or any further reasons for the opinions which I hold and publish, I will not say they are a *matter of taste*, but freely give them as a matter of conviction upon conscientious principle, and as a matter of morality and honesty. I am not ashamed, but glory in them, and in proof of this I will relate what has passed on the 6th instant in this Gaol.

I have before introduced the name of Dr. England to my readers and the public, as a visiting magistrate, and a man who has put a sermon of Beilby Porteus's in my hand, with the avowed object of stating my opinions. On Wednesday last, just as I had heard that the public and legalized robbers had broke into my house in London, for the avowed purpose of a second time carrying off all the property there, the Turnkey of the Prison came to my room to say, that Dr. England would like to see me, if it was agreeable or convenient. I sent him back word that I was quite ready to meet him at the moment, and he came with the Keeper and took a seat, which is quite unusual on all ordinary or magisterial visits. He began the discourse, by saying, that he had formerly put a sermon in my hand, and that I had

assured him no impression had been made on my mind from reading it, but that he now wished to try the effect of another work, if I would do him the favour to read it, on mentioning its title, "Leslie's short and easy Method with the Deists," I assured him, that all its arguments were quite familiar to me from having formerly read it, at which the Doctor seemed surprised, but still begged that I would again read it attentively. Mr. England, is a Doctor in Divinity, as certain men are called, the Archdeacon of the County of Dorset, and the highest Church Dignitary in the county. I have again read the little work he left with me, and I now mean to invite him either to a private conference, or that he may bring with him any person or number of persons he likes, and I will controvert every argument in the book that opposes Deism, or tends to support the Christian or any other religion, and every objection he or they can advance against me to support it.

That the Doctor was commissioned from some higher source to call upon me and see what sort of a humour I was in at such a moment, I have no doubt, as it is the first and only private visit he ever made me, and I have heard further that two other clerical gentlemen, the one a visiting magistrate, came to the Gaol with him, but did not come into my apartment. He made no direct overtures of compromise with me, but he went a round about way to do it, by pretending to feel for my family, and by saying, that I ought to sacrifice more of my feelings and opinions for them, if nothing else could induce me to do it. No disposition of the kind was shewn to him, and even Mrs. Carlile and my sister did but smile at his affected kindness, and shew no disposition to second his kind feelings and notions, while I told him flatly that I was hostile to all religion, that the God of the Jews, the God or Gods of the Christians, and the God of Mahomet or Mahometans, were nothing but idols, and had no relation to the God of Nature. The Doctor had nothing to say, but that he had heard of a Goddess of Nature, but never before heard of a God of Nature! I put two or three pointed questions to him upon the subject of the impropriety of persecution for matters of opinion, to which he could give me no answer, but was glad to withdraw, without having said one word in defence of his own opinions, or against mine, save that he thought I was wrong in opposing an established religion, and that there ought to be no change or difference of opinion upon such matters. I silenced him in a moment by referring him

to Luther; and by a few other pertinent remarks, I made the Doctor blush a scarlet, and every fibre in his frame was suffused with it. Bear in mind, Republicans, this man is the highest Church Dignitary in the County of Dorset, he is considered a man of very great ability, and as a man of appearance and commanding aspect he cannot be excelled.

I proceed to the third sentence of Mr. Cobbett's letter, which is still more erroneous, both in assumption and inference, than the two former. In the first place, I do not think Mr. Cobbet will find the support of a single reflecting man that forms of government are matters of taste, in a general point of view, they may be so to the members of a Royal Family, and an Aristocracy, but not to the bulk of a nation, or the industrious classes. The question about persecution for matters of opinion by no means applies to the question at issue between Mr. Cobbett and the Republicans: no one has made any attempt to controul Mr. Cobbett's opinion upon this matter, but he has made an attempt to controul the opinions of the Republicans, by saying to them "*do not seek a Republican form of Government,*" without assigning any other reason for the expression, than that it is a matter of personal taste with himself. I have made no attempt to controul Mr. Cobbett in matters of opinion, I have applied to him as to a senior, as to the leading political writer of the day, as to a man with extraordinary talents and powers of argument, to give me, and thousands with me, instruction and explanation upon a point on which we feel interested and on which Mr. C. has shewn a wish to controul us. When Mr. C. says, that he has merely stated his *opinion* of Republican government, as I have mine about what is to take place in the next world, and that he is as likely to be well informed with regard to the former as I am with regard to the latter, he would be correct if the expression was master of fact, but as it is not he is incorrect. I have never stated an opinion about what is to take place in the next world. I have uniformly scouted the idea of such a future state as that to which Mr. Cobbett alludes, so if he intended to throw any ridicule upon me, by the comparison, he may here take it back again with the additional charge of misstatement.

As to the anecdotes, they are not in point; they decide nothing as to the principle of a Republican form of Government, and if they did, how easy would it be for me to take a series of Mr. Cobbett's Registers, and overwhelm them by a selection of abuses practised under the Monarchical

Government of this Island and its colonies, Surely, upon this view of the case, Mr. Cobbett will give the preference to the system that generates the fewest abuses. Besides, I did not contrast the government of the United States with any other government: I stated objections to the manners of the people of the United States, and to their form of government, in the very article which has drawn forth this letter from Mr. Cobbett. I consider them a people who stand in need of moral and social reformation, in a much greater degree than do the people of this Island. The inhabitants of the United States are semi-barbarous in manners, when compared with the inhabitants of Great Britain, but for reasons in giving a preference to their form of Government, I refer every man to the pages of Mr. Cobbett's Registers. During his late residence in the United States, it was the constant boast of Mr. Cobbett, that there were no internal taxes worthy of mention, and that the same quantity of salt, which costs in England twenty shillings, was there imported and retailed for half-a-crown! He was continually contrasting the state of living among the industrious in that country with their state of starving in this, and we were as often told, that a beggar was an anomaly thete, unless it were a negro, or an immoral and profligate emigrant from Europe. In the United States of America the form of government is much less corrupt than the people; in Great Britain, the people are much less corrupt than their form of government.

Now, as to the alleged consequence in the United States of calling the Christian era the era "*of the Carpenter's Wife's Son*," I cannot contradict it, odd and odious as it is; but I think it fit matter for some of the American writers to give an opinion upon. This I can say, that I first saw the phrase, "*of the era of the Carpenter's Son*," in a written letter from New York, and I understand, that in the United States, it is a very common mode of expression with the Deists. I turned the phrase to that of *the Carpenter's Wife's Son*, out of compliment to the Christian world, as we are told that Joseph, the Jew Carpenter, had no further share or concern in his wife's son, than to be jealous and to dream about the matter. Although the phrase is to be found in the New Testament, it appeared to me to be an incongruity to call Jesus the Jew the Carpenter's Son, when the Carpenter himself disowned him, although he had his jealous scruples pacified by a dream.

Citizens, I have now discharged a duty both to you and

myself, and I assure you, that I am equally disposed with Mr. Cobbett to let the matter drop here, on the condition that our principles are not to be objected to without accompanying reasons. Public opinions are public property, and if erroneous must be rectified by a conflict. Discussion does not constitute controul or persecution of opinion, and I was surprised at such a construction from Mr. Cobbett. There is no value in opinions, as they apply to individuals, the question at all times is as to their relative value with society at large; and discussion and experience alone can test that value. I coincide with the expressed opinion of many of my friends that Mr. Cobbett's letter to me must give weight to the principles of Republicanism, and tend to convince many, who had doubts, that those principles cannot be either morally or politically impeached: for if Mr. Cobbett cannot impeach them with reasons and arguments, no man living can do it; and in failing to do it, or rather in declining to do it, he has given them a tacit assent and approbation. The jeer of immodesty or folly in setting up for a maker of span-new governments and religions is an erroneous application to me from Mr. Cobbett. It is well known to those who think proper to read what I publish, that I advocate the abolition of all religion without setting up any thing new of the kind: and as to a span-new government, I am not more its advocate than Mr. Cobbett. We differ only, or he affects to differ from me, as to its future form. I am not a maker of governments, I advocate a certain system of government that was known and in being before I was, but it seems to be unpardonable in me to say that I am the disciple of Thomas Paine rather than of William Cobbett. I am the advocate of nothing new; I cannot boast of invention in any thing. I am the disciple and not the originator of a system of government, and with all my lack of modesty, I have not ventured to call any persons my disciples, because they had come to the same conclusions with myself, and perhaps through different sources of information.

Reform is a word which signifies making a new, it does not apply to mending or patching a thing; and, although I am sorry to say, I cannot boast of being a very correct and accomplished grammarian, I can see an inconsistency in a man, who calls himself a Reformer of a government, jeering another for setting up for a maker of span-new governments. If a man had a worn-out and ragged coat on his back, and was offered the choice to have it patched or to have a new

one made of new cloth, which would he be likely to accept? The same principle applies to a worn-out, rotten, and corrupt government: it must be reformed, not patched and mended, to be useful and lasting.

No, Republicans, we will not yield our convictions and sense of right to the taste of any man: we will have reasons strong and sufficient before we change our opinions and views of what is best as to the future form of government. Whether we are assailed by Methodists, by Moderates, or by Radicals, we will stand unshaken on the rock of a pure Representative System of Legislation, and demand the additional right of choosing our own magistrates. Without the possession of both these points, Liberty cannot be universally extended: if one man has it, another will miss it, if the legislation be pure and the magistracy impure; and above all things bear in mind this one axiom, that an impure and corrupt magistracy will be sure to lead on to a corruption of the Legislature, as cause and effect necessarily combine. A corrupt magistracy cannot conveniently exist without the support of a corrupt Legislature, and if you countenance the one you will not long be free of the other.

Since Mr. Cobbett declines to impeach by reasons those simple principles which he rejects by taste, I shall not think of calling upon any person beneath him to do it, but exhort you to a perseverance in, and to a propagation of them. We will hoist those principles as a standard for union, and say to all, since you cannot shew us that we are wrong, you are in honesty bound to advance and unite. Our motto shall be UNION UPON SOUND PRINCIPLES.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

MR. CARLILE,

Jan. 29, 1822.

ACCIDENT presented to me, some of the numbers of your resumed publication of the Republican, on reading them a train of reflections arose in my mind; as to who *you* were? Why you were suffering incarceration? and what interest the country at large had in you, or your writings? a little enquiry soon informed me, you were a man of the most industrious habits, that you possessed a liberal and an inquiring mind, and a strong natural genius, the force of which had elevated you from the humble sphere of a journeyman mechanic to that respectable situation in society, which the possession of mental acquirements so justly claims,

when attended by moral rectitude; and in the discharge of those duties which are the purest evidence of moral rectitude, I find you have been pre-eminent. Thus, Sir, your virtues have inspired me with an esteem for you, although personally unknown to you, and though dissenting decidedly from your Theological opinions. Yet how could I refuse you my esteem, when I found you upon minute inquiry, after supporting a wife and several children, sparing from the scanty produce of manual labour (*the 18s. or 20s. per week, which you received as a journeyman*) a mite to be an offering of filial affection to an aged parent, and of brotherly kindness to your sisters. One of those sisters now your co-mate in prison, participating in your sufferings, and no doubt soothing them by every effort, which a recollection of past kindnesses can suggest.

And together with a wife whom the same fell mandate gave to the jaws of a prison, and completed that phenomenon in English history, of a husband, wife, and sister, incarcerated in prison, and amerced in ruinous fines, for a supposititious crime which no law specifically prohibits. But of this anon. To pursue your character. You add to that of the dutiful son, the kind brother, the tender husband, the fond father, the steady and warm-hearted friend. Thus much for what may be deemed the domestic duties. For that wider circle which belongs to your trading intercourse, you have the reputation of being punctual, just, and liberal: and though you commenced business without a capital, and have sustained an oppression that would have made a wreck of a fortune, had you possessed one, I do not find that you have created any undischarged debts, or, that you have left it in the power of any man to upbraid you with aught dishonest in your dealings. Nor does your heart appear chilled with a miser-like love of gain, nor can I, on the other hand, learn that you seek to indulge in the debilitating luxuries of the sensualist, but rather, that you are rational and temperate in your living: and that you spare liberally from what your means produces to the support of those who are the victims of the same tyranny, and who suffer because they dared to act in your business.

Thus far as to my inquiries of who you are. Now, as to why you are suffering incarceration?

I perceive that you exercised the right of investigating those subjects, that you felt most powerfully to influence your actions and happiness; that is, Religion and Politics, and that you ventured to disseminate such ideas as were either the offspring of your own mind, or the emanation of others; as tended most to elucidate those subjects, and shew what was true or false in either. Reposing in the confidence that the laws guaranteed the right of investigation, you submitted to the public your doubts, and your reasons for entertaining them, on matters of religion; and on politics, your censures on men and measures. You dared

to call the massacre of your peaceable, unarmed, unresisting countrymen at Manchester—murder.

Such honest boldness rendered you obnoxious to the men, who were the authors and abettors of such bloody deeds. It was necessary to their existence that you should be put down, and it was resolved that coercion should destroy you. But who was called to exercise this authority, that was to be so terrible and destructive in its effects; that was to sweep a virtuous and industrious individual from society, that was to shut up his person in prison, and to annihilate his property by enormous fines? Persons clothed with the majesty of the laws, the sacredness of whose office was sanctified by legislative enactments, who stood before the public as the conservators of the morals, clothed in robes of the purest innocence, and revered from the antiquity of their origin? Were those the persons who opposed to you their hallowed authority, who consigned you to a prison, and the enormity of whose fines must rob you of all, your talents or industry may ever hope to create. If they were such, bow to them, cease to murmur, blame only your own temerity; chastisement coming from hands so pure and holy must be just. But, alas! they were not; they were men who exercised an authority unsanctioned by the laws, foreign to the constitution, and which can claim no kindred with years gone by, except with that period of execrable memory, when the accurst Star Chamber held its diabolical reign, traversing the law, and dragging from every house, which dark suspicion marked, its devoted victims, to chains, to prison, and to death. Listening to no laws but its own fierce will, hearing no evidence but its own malign accusers, and attending to no pleadings but the fears inspired by tyrannies and injustice. Such was the Star Chamber; and such would be these monsters in embryo, the Vice and Constitutional Societies, unless they are crushed before their power is matured.

Is there a man in England, who loves his country and glories in the name of Englishman, who wishes that the laws should equal-handed deal out justice? And who would spurn at the idea of any petty junto of low conniving villains, whose sordid souls to buy the paltry gain that some base minister might dispense, would combine in dark and infamous association; selecting for their Secretary, and led by his suggestions, one so infamous, so bankrupt in all character, that when asked in a public court to describe himself, he could find no mode of honourable livelihood that attached to him. No way by which he could say the bread he eat was won by fair or manly exertion; and was compelled to own, that covered with infamy, he lived the pimp and pander of that Society? Is there an Englishman, I say, who does not feel indignant at the existence of such a society. Whose blood does not boil, when he sees such a combination of scoundrels subscrib-

ing their pounds, shillings, and pence, to beat down every man who dares to advocate free discussion, who would direct the public eye with keen observance to every violation of its rights; who would unmask the calm, smooth-tongued, deep, designing minister, whose secret aim was to undermine the constitution, and on its ruin build an absolute despotism.

Is there an Englishman that is not horror frozen when he contemplates such a Society, all the members of which have grown rich upon the plunder of the people, pouring out a vast hoard of wealth, and placing it at the disposal of a wretch so infamous as this Secretary, to institute prosecutions, in which are involved the liberty and the property of the individual who is attacked. Nor will even a verdict of acquittal, if there be a chance of obtaining one by a fair impannelling of a jury, save the devoted victim from ruin, for the expences of litigation will effect, that if the public becomes not a party in the defence. Can then Englishmen become indifferent spectators of such operations? Do they not see that every bulwark which the blood or wisdom of their forefathers erected round their chartered rights, will be levelled by these pioneers to the advance of despotism? Do they not see that this execrable junto are the scavengers of the ministry; that in becoming the nominal prosecutor of any hero who dares to advocate the cause of the people, the minister is saved the odium that attaches to the act; while he in return gives the society all the aid his power can effect, with the Magistrate, the Judge, and the packing of the Jury?

Is there an Englishman, who even calls himself Christian, who will not turn with disgust from beholding such Societies marshalled by men whose moral character does not yield a single fruit but what proves it is the growth of a poisonous tree? Do they revere the doctrines of the Divine Author of their Faith, he who summed up his holy law in that sublime mandate "love one another," and deem it right to see all the fury of the worst and most malignant passions of hypocritical zeal let loose, to torture and oppress, to imprison and to rob? Can they be calm spectators of persecution, and reflect upon the first promulgators of the Christian faith.

Was the lash of thorny persecution which they suffered so gentle, and the bloody hands that inflicted it so amiable, that they are emulous of imitating acts so humane? Were impaling faggots and torture so effectual in extinguishing the love of truth in the hearts of the first martyrs to the Christian faith; when conviction arising from investigation had flashed upon their minds, as to inspire the hope that persecution and coercion would arrest the march of opinion? Are they so partial and unwise, as to call in as aids to the support of their faith, that persecution and injustice which the first promulgators of that faith so triumphantly died to

oppose? Or are they indeed so weak as to think that their faith wants for its support the aid of human power, and least of all that power which is derived from tyranny? Or have they the presumption to arrogate to themselves the right of deciding the sole way in which the Almighty shall hold communion with the hearts of their fellow men; and that when those reasoning faculties, which the Maker has in his infinite bounty given to all, and which are the medium of all knowledge to man, have been fully exerted by any individual, to ascertain what is worthy of his belief, and what is not; is then that individual to be hunted down, because he holds an opinion that does not coincide with his fellows? Is he to be punished because his powers of perception do not make manifest to him the same objects of faith? And are one set of men for this difference of opinion to dare to anticipate the justice of Omnipotence; and in inflicting a chastisement fling back upon heaven an upbraiding for the tardiness of its vengeance? A true Christian would shudder at the idea, and exclaim, It was better for him to strive to preserve his own faith pure, and to evince it by his works, than attempt to coerce the faith of others.

Is there an Englishman that calls himself a Protestant that does not tremble when he contemplates those Societies? Does he not see in them the germ of an Inquisition? Has he forgot the bold and manly principles of a Luther? He who so successfully taught the doctrine of resistance to any existing system that tended to enslave the understanding. Does he not blush to think he has not advocated the cause of an oppressed and injured individual, whose crime was a love of liberty? A candid avowal of opinions, proving the sincerity of his conviction of their truth by his manly and firm support of them.

Thus, Sir, the view which my mind takes of your conduct, and the cause of your imprisonment, places you, in my estimation, in a point of contact with the interests of every individual in Great Britain. For in your person the laws are outraged, and they are, or ought to be, the common shield to protect all from injustice and oppression; and when they are broke down, or trampled on, the circumstance is of interest to all who live within their pale.

Yes, Sir, you are the victim of a power whose existence is not recognised by the law of the land, and which has no name in the Constitution by which we profess to be governed: for now an individual suffers in his person and his property, and we ask by whom is the suffering inflicted? By a non-descript in our law; by a fungus, which has grown upon the decaying roots of our Constitution, and which the breath of a corrupt Ministry has raised into mushroom existence, and under whose shade it seeks a disgraceful shelter.

How are we to combat this new germ of evil, which seems to be eating its way into the very core of our liberties and laws? If its vegetation is permitted its shade will soon become so ample,

that the whole tree of our liberties and laws will be shadowed by it; and it will be so identified with the Executive or Ministerial branches, that our whole political existence will be poisoned.

Who can say where the effect will cease, or what the consequence will be of a thing so monstrous as for a set of private individuals who possess no responsible situation in the Government, who have no name or description in the law, arrogating to themselves the right of becoming the conservators of the public morals, the censors of what is admissible in political investigation; looking round them with the law-defying power of the Star Chamber, and inflicting with petty malice their malignant tyrannies upon their fellow-countrymen, their neighbours and equals. The reflection is appalling, and doubly so, when we see mixed in its composition, and directing its operations, a needy and hungry lawyer, destitute of all practice but what his villainies may hunt up in the prosecutions of that Society; and a man so reckless of reputation as to avow he could give no other description of himself but as the Secretary of that Society, or in other words, that he lived upon his means, and those means were derived from the infamous duties of his Secretaryship. What may not be apprehended from a Society constituted of such succumbing materials? Give it but time to mature its strength, and will not its power to inflict evil be omnipotent? Will it not chain down discussion and extinguish investigation? And what will the country present then but a land of slaves?

Thus, Sir, as the cause of your imprisonment places you in point of contact with the interests of every man in Great Britain, it is the duty of every man to identify himself with you, and assist you to triumph over that knot of poisonous reptiles, who, if they succeed in destroying you, will ultimately destroy him as a free-man—for investigation stifled, liberty dies.

But how, it may be asked, can every man in Great Britain identify himself with you, or how can the community serve you now that the law has given its *fiat*? I answer, that they can identify themselves with you by shewing by their sympathy that all suffer in the person of one, when in the person of that one the laws have been outraged. And by contributing from their purse they will rescue you from that confinement which was contemplated to be perpetual when the fine was made so enormous.

By acting thus, the public would most gloriously defeat those Ministers who calculate that by the existence of a system of terror they can stifle investigation, and ruin all who dare to oppose their misrule. It would prove to them that with whatever facility they can pass laws destructive of liberty, the will of a whole people is paramount to those laws, and can nullify their worst intentions, and at any time snatch from their gripe a devoted victim. That such may be your case, Sir, that you may be restored to society

clothed with honour, your property reimbursed, and may live to see your grand-children celebrate the achievement, is Sir, the
wish of

A LIBERAL CHRISTIAN.

Observation.—This “Liberal Christian” ought to have given his name as supporting the example he recommends to others. Anonymous professions amount to nothing unless supported by the example recommended to others. The letter is printed more to accompany it with this rebuke than from any other motive.

EDITOR.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

DEAR SIR,

London, Jan. 24, 1822.

PERMIT me to congratulate you upon your being able to resume the Republican; and also upon the mode which *Trinity Murray* has compelled you to adopt to disseminate your truly valuable publications, although I am fully aware you prefer doing things in an open, straight-forward, and honourable way: but if your Christian persecutors drive you to extremities as they have done in arresting your shopmen one after the other, you are, in my opinion, justified in resorting to any stratagem that will baffle their illegal and wicked persecutions. We all know that the two Societies employed in attempting your utter destruction are composed of the most illiterate, immoral, and hypocritical Villains that ever disgraced the fair face of the creation; and the only reason that can be assigned for such a nest of Robbers and Fools remaining so long embodied as they have been suffered to remain, is that disgraceful apathy which pervades the minds of the English people. It is a stigma upon the country to allow these detestable hordes to exist for no other purpose but to harass, torment, and ruin peaceable and honest Citizens. How these RESPECTABLES can reconcile their cruel practices with the precepts of that religion they pretend to uphold, which tells them to “do unto others that which they wish should be done unto them,”—“to love their enemies,” and “to return good for evil.” And, moreover, “to bear no malice nor hatred in their hearts,” and “to love their neighbours as themselves,” is a point I leave to my little *Saint Wilby* and *pious Blacow* to explain; but certain it is, they appear to me, from their prosecuting every work that tends to inculcate true principles of theology and politics, to be such an unprincipled and tyrannic set of Rascals, that their only aim in suppressing what they term sedition and blasphemy is nothing less than an attempt to put down the liberty of the press and the right of free

discussion : this is the sum total of their disinterested loyalty and exemplary piety. Is it likely, my Friend, that they who will lend their assistance to enslave and oppress the people in every shape possible, should have such an unaccountable anxiety for the safety of their souls ? Oh no, certainly not, their conduct gives the lie to it; and it must be obvious to every observer, that they have no such feeling, and that they are actuated by no other motive than the one just named, in order the better to keep the people in profound darkness, and to prevent them breaking their chains, which these wretches have so inhumanly helped to rivet. This is too plainly their object, and I call upon every honest and virtuous man to come forward, either with his abilities or his purse, to counteract their nefarious and hellish designs.

As to *Mr. Secretary*, I really am at a loss how to express myself, but as I have eulogised the *Crews*, I think it would be unjust in passing unnoticed the *Commanding Officer*, and paying him a similar tribute of respect; especially as he has been so indefatigable recently in taking out warrants for the apprehension of persons in your employ: but in performing this task I can assure you I feel no inconsiderable embarrassment, inasmuch as it is a subject I am not qualified to enter upon, neither should I attempt it but from the manner in which this man has obtruded himself upon notice ; this alone induces me to offer a few observations respecting his infamous conduct towards you, and in doing this I must forego those finer feelings which would otherwise be observed. This fellow, then, (who I think resembles a description of animal I once heard of, called an *Humfudgeon*, a frightful beast between an *Hog*, *Dog*, *Devil*, and *Porcupine*), affords one of the finest treats to those persons who are fond of pantomimes, or farce, that can well be conceived ; and in justice to the Bridge Street Congregation, I think if they had searched the country throughout they could not have selected such an appropriate personage to act for them, for in his horrible ghastly visage is correctly depicted the views and intentions of that "Hell-born Banditti." Only figure to yourself this *Mankee* strutting and stumping about upon his *Trinities*, giving himself all the airs and consequence of Triangle Derry, with his head reclining upon one shoulder, and which actually gives him the appearance of having escaped from the operations of the halter, reconnoitring No. 55, Fleet Street ; till, at length, having wrought himself up to that degree of frenzy because he cannot bum the house down with its inmates, posts off, foaming at the mouth like an over-driven ox, accompanied by his ready-swear ing Yeomen, to Guildhall, or the Mansion House, where, after hopping and hobbling from one place to the other, meets with your old friend, *Thames-fir'd Jack*, and *Billy Bubble-nose*, (the Trinket Man's Companion), and who, after a grave consultation with their brother Magistrates, grant *Humfudgeon* a warrant against some person serving in your shop, whose name this

three-legged Christian states is unknown, but whose person can be identified; and all this for nothing more than selling a small pamphlet, which says, that the people of this country are greatly oppressed and plundered. Mr. Hone has given a pretty correct sketch of him in his "Slap at Slop;" but I think there are a few embellishments which he might have added, such as the bow, the brass, the buckles, the straps, and the ribbons, which ornament the Pin that forms the *Trinity*, and which altogether gives him a *handsome and interesting appearance*. These few important particulars I perceive are properly preserved in the portrait of him which now adorns the "Temple of Reason;" and for the information of those individuals who have not had the "supreme felicity" of witnessing this demon-like figure, they may now have that pleasure by repairing to your shop in Fleet Street. The fellow is drawn in company with his Christian friend, (the Devil) the chief in Trinity the Second.

I am happy to find that in spite of these repeated prosecutions, you are still in a condition to bid your enemies defiance, and that the people have sufficient sense to form a proper estimate of the principles you labour to inculcate. It is evident they will not be duped any longer by the vague and senseless charge of blasphemy, seeing that the Bigots and Hypocrites who echo this charge are interested in supporting the present system of delusion. If these detestable and unprincipled Scoundrels, who call themselves Christians, could see clearly, they certainly would desist from tormenting you further, for by their acts of severity towards you they have created such a degree of curiosity in the public mind for the possession of your works, that I understand the demand has been so great that many of them are actually out of print, and which has been occasioned solely by the officious interference of these petty tyrants.

Believe me, dear Sir, with the highest esteem,

Your sincere Friend,

J. TOWNSEND.

This and a former letter of Mr. T.'s have been answered privately: as it was not a communication from an assembly of persons, or the expressed sentiment of more than the respectable individual whose name it bears, it is not usual, or thought necessary, to give a public formal answer to such communications. The insertion of the letter is always considered the necessary mark of respect for the writer.

EDITOR.

A gentleman of Edinburgh, being pressed the other day to subscribe to the national monument to be erected in that city, to commemorate the events of the late war, replied, "I'll do nae sic thing—the *National Debt*, in my opinion, is monument enough."

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

FRIEND CARLILE,

IT is with pleasure that I forward to you a sovereign, the first collected at a periodical subscription, entered into on your behalf, by a few of the enemies of despotism and delusion, who meet at Mr. Radical's, (not the Bible and Crown) St. James's.

The number and pertinacity of your enemies arises, I am well convinced, not so much from a belief that the trash they so obstinately defend is true, as from a conviction that Priestcraft is, as it always has been, the grand corner-stone of political juggling.

Knowledge at all times, and particularly in the present state of society, is to be obtained but by study and pains—and an impartial judgment, but by the sacrifice of great ideal advantages: while an assent to the belief of tales, however improbable, is of easy accomplishment, and but too consonant with the selfishness and indolence natural to mankind.

It is really to be wondered that Delusion has not made further progress than we find she has, seeing the many and great auxiliaries she possesses. Were half the pulpits throughout Great Britain to be employed half the Sundays in the year in the promulgation of demonstrative and moral topics, the stories respecting Christ would be held, in a very little while, in the same estimation as the stories of Jack the Giant-killer.

The cry of blasphemy has been raised against you: those are the really blasphemous who pretend to teach an omniscient God what he should do, as if he were but a man, as blind and as ignorant as themselves; and such conduct, forsooth, they denominate—humility!

Farewell! and may success crown your exertions! and may health and happiness be the constant attendants of yourself, wife, and sister, to whom I subscribe myself their sincere admirer,

HOWARD FISH.

London, Feb. 4, 1822.

TO MR. HOWARD FISH.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 8, 1822.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

I WAS happy to hear from you, as the idea of not being forgotten, or of still holding on the approbation of former acquaintance, is at all times agreeable. I have never yet found that man, who, having once avowed himself the admirer of the principles of Thomas Paine, from a thorough understanding of them, ever apostatized, unless it was produced by a visible lust of gain in some other opposite way, or, unless there was a notorious dishonesty and immorality connected with his character.

In the school of Paine, or the Satanic school, as Robert Southey calls it, and to which Lord Byron, by the publication of "Cain," has given a never-fading respectability, you are my senior; and you may be assured that I feel a satisfaction in your approbation of my career: and as I cannot offer you instruction on any subject, I must conclude by returning you and your companions my thanks for your support.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

P. S. During the time that my shop may be kept shut by the Robbers, or until I can open another, I must request you and all friends to assist in giving the ordinary circulation to the Republican, and any other publication. Any individual may do this by taking as many as he can conveniently, and with safety to himself, dispose of; and should he overcharge himself, they shall be exchanged for succeeding Numbers or any other publications.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR,

IT has long been my intention to address you on your unmerited confinement, and am now happy to inform you that I have reason to believe a subscription will be entered into

for you in this part of Manchester. It is certainly the duty and the interest of all who are oppressed to do their utmost endeavour to redeem you from the tyrannical grasp of the lawless oppressor. But, on the other hand, I regret to contemplate, that Superstition, with her haggard form, stands in battle array against you. There are many Reformers who are votaries to her infernal charms; there are many who see and feel the effects of slavery and want, who see the unjust proceedings of the Leaders of the State: but when you touch upon that which they have learned, like parrots, from a set of sole interested men, they shrink back as if you were some unnatural being. You heard it expressed during your trial that Christianity was part and parcel of the law of the land. Parcel of the law of the land! parcel of the law of the land! why, if a school-boy had expressed such a sentence he would either have been laughed at for his absurdity or whipped for his profaneness. But then it was first spoken by some great man with an unmerciful wig on and a dreadful garment; it was spoken by my Lord Chief; so that every word he uttered breathed intellectual illumination into the very souls of Placemen and Pensioners. But, however, gross as the sentence is, let them take it, and let the whole tribe of tyrannical Robbers see what they can make of it. If, then, Christianity be part and parcel of the law of our land, let us see how far they live in subordination to that law. First, then, in what does Christianity consist? Does it consist in stag-hunting, in boar-hunting, in gluttony and drunkenness, in horse-racing, in cock-fighting, in gambling, or in the oppression of the poor? Does it consist in laying upon men's shoulders burthens too grievous to be borne, or in continually living on the fruits of the labour of others? Does it consist in living in idleness and heaping up riches, or in waging war against a neighbouring nation that was endeavouring to throw off the superstition and slavery of accumulated ages, in consequence of which, thousands and tens of thousands of human beings were butchered? Witness the last conflict—I mean that of Waterloo, reader! picture to thyself the carnage that was there! Look at the dead and the dying! Hearken to the woeful groans of thousands! Behold the crimson gore flowing from the veins and pores of the victims; it flows in such copious effusion that the fertile earth seems to pause at the outrage offered to suffering Humanity, and for a moment refuses to drink the polluted draught! Ah! my friend! does Christianity consist in these things, or does

it consist in a number of men in black coats appointing a day to return thanks to the God of Mercy because he has assisted them to destroy a multitude of their fellow-creatures? Or does it consist in a monstrous Yeomanry sabring and destroying a number of unoffending men, women, and children? Does Christianity consist in any of these things? If it be answered No, then I say, if Christianity be as they have said, part of the law of the land, all those who are guilty of these things are guilty of violating the law of the land, and as such they ought to be punished with the utmost severity. Now, ye slavish multitude of every religious persuasion, do you not clearly see who are your enemies? And do you not also see who are your friends? Do you not clearly see that it is your duty to assist those who have forfeited their liberties and their small properties in your defence? It is no matter whether they are of the same religious opinions or not.

Are you not well aware of the wide-spread havock that Superstition has made amongst mankind in different ages of the world? Behold suffering, bleeding Ireland at the present moment! Behold her half-starved slaves murdering one another through the direful and deadly hand of Superstition! And as long as Religious Bigotry and Superstition reign amongst mankind, just as long will the injured slaves murder each other. We talk of the wisdom and spirit of our forefathers, but they never knew what the rights of man were: all the great changes and revolutions that have been boasted of were nothing more than putting down one species of tyranny to establish another.

Even if we come down as late as the year 1745, we find a man coming out of Scotland with a number of superstitious bigots with him, making them believe that he was the right heir to the British crown. It is evident that they knew nothing of the rights of human beings, for if they had they would have known that no man living was ever the right heir to any crown; and the modern Reformers must all relinquish such ideas before ever they have a Government founded upon reason and intrinsic justice; and they must tear from their eyes the bandage of Superstition in all its varied deformity. For a moment, permit me to take those upon their own ground who refuse to help the man from fine and imprisonment because he believes not in religious matters as they do; I would recommend such (upon their own grounds) to remember the parable of the man who fell amongst thieves, which thieves stripped him of his raiment

and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead : we need not here mention the Priest and the Levite passing by him, for it was Priest-like : but the Samaritan, the good Samaritan, when he saw him he had instant compassion on him ; he did not stand asking what religion he was, whether he was of the same opinion as himself or not : no, but the moment he saw him he had compassion on him—he saw he was a fellow-creature in distress, and that was sufficient. And to those who are determined to be Christians I would say to such, Go you and do likewise. Go, my friends, it is your duty, a duty that you owe to your suffering country, and to your fellow-creatures that are now suffering unmerited imprisonments and under most grievous fines. None have suffered more than that family, because none have combated corruption more—no, nor none equal. And what can be said of his religious sentiments ? Examine them well and contrast them with your own, and weigh them in the balance of reason and matter of fact ; and by so doing you will discover something perhaps that you have not yet thought of.

I say if every man must be rewarded according to his works, there can be no such thing as redemption, that is evident to common sense. And again, if the nature of man be originally evil, then I say every evil action is an act of humanity, and every good action is an act of inhumanity. This is so clear, that it cannot be denied. But I must conclude, wishing all who are oppressed to take the above in deep consideration ; and my incarcerated friend, I naturally hope you will excuse me in forgetting to address you in the principal part of this letter, and for the present I bid you farewell.

RICHARD MOORE,

18, John Street, Manchester.

APHORISMS OF CONDORCET.

IT was no longer practicable to divide mankind into two species, one destined to govern, the other to obey ; one to deceive, the other to be dupes : the doctrine was obliged universally to be acknowledged, that all have an equal right to be enlightened respecting their interests, to share in

the acquisition of truth, and that no political authorities appointed by the people for the benefit of the people can be entitled to retain them in ignorance and darkness.

These principles, which were vindicated by the generous Sydney at the expence of his blood, and to which Locke gave the authority of his name, were afterwards developed with greater force, precision, and extent, by Rousseau, whose glory it is to have placed them among those truths henceforth impossible to be forgotten or disputed.

Hence it appears to be one of the rights of man that he should employ his faculties, dispose of his wealth, and provide for his wants in whatever manner he shall think best. The general interest of the society, so far from restraining him in this respect, forbids, on the contrary, every such attempt; and in this department of public administration, the care of securing to every man the rights which he derives from nature is the only sound policy, the only controul which the general will can exercise over the individuals of the community.

The period at length arrived when men no longer feared openly to avow the right, so long withheld, and even unknown, of subjecting every opinion to the test of reason, or, in other words, of employing, in their search after truth, the only means they possess for its discovery. Every man learned, with a degree of pride and exultation, that Nature had not condemned him to see with the eyes and to conform his judgment to the caprice of another. The superstitions of antiquity accordingly disappeared; and the debasement of reason to the shrine of supernatural faith was as rarely to be found in society as in the circles of metaphysics and philosophy.

Run through the history of our projects and establishments in Africa, or in Asia, and you will see our monopolies, our treachery, our sanguinary contempt for men of a different complexion or different creed, and the proselyting fury or the intrigues of our Priests, destroying that sentiment of respect and benevolence which the superiority of our information and the advantages of our commerce had at first obtained.

TO MR. CARLILE.

SIR,

I AM anxious to call the attention of your readers, to a subject which to me appears not to have been sufficiently noticed; and in offering you the following observations upon it, my object is principally to throw out a few general hints, that some individual more capable than myself, may be induced to take the subject up; and do it that justice which its importance requires and deserves.

I am, Sir, yours gratefully,

A DEIST.

THE EFFECTS OF A BELIEF IN A FUTURE STATE OF EXISTENCE ON SOCIETY.

THE only effective objection advanced against the principles of Deism, is its opposition to the dogma of a future state of existence. And when I say effective, I do not wish to be understood, that the doctrine of a future state of existence can be supported upon any rational grounds; still however it is effective, because many individuals who themselves reject it, give it their support, from an idea that it is necessary to restrain the vicious passions of our nature. That this is not the case, and that this doctrine, so far from repressing vice and crime, is calculated to nurture and support it, I do not doubt but that I shall be able to establish. I conceive the chief causes to which vice and crime are attributable, are first, Ignorance; and secondly, Poverty. That ignorance produces vice and crime of every sort, is a truth so self evident, that I do not apprehend any one will deny. It may however be said, every one has sufficient knowledge to inform them, what is right and what is wrong, granted; yet still though men have this knowledge, their minds are not sufficiently enlightened to see the necessity of strictly regarding it. In proportion as men obtain knowledge, so they despise and detest vicious actions, thus a man who has obtained a superior degree of information to others of his fellows cannot be more punished than to be compelled to associate with ignorant and illiterate men. Knowledge it is that expands our minds, that teaches those views of right and wrong, and of philanthropy

which enlightens, without it men would be little better than brutes. Every day's observation affords us an additional proof of the truth of this position, if we are among individuals who have obtained an education, and who are anxious to obtain knowledge, we find them better moral characters, better society, and better men in every shape. And if we refer to history, it will also support this position in the strongest manner. Let us look at our own country, four or five centuries back; what does it present to our view; the most horrible picture of vice and infamy we can imagine. And surely if the fear of a future state of existence could controul the vicious passions of mankind, it would have done so then, because then it was more firmly believed and supported than it ever has been since. I think we may also attribute crime, in a certain degree, to poverty; poverty will compel honest individuals to commit dishonest acts, and though it will be said it will not prompt them to commit any of the worst of crimes that disgrace human nature; yet we must look a little further than this; suppose a man with a family is compelled to resort to any species of fraud to support them, what effect will this have upon his family, will not his example operate powerfully upon their minds, most certainly; by having bad examples before their eyes, they become initiated in vice. Seeing then, that in ignorant times, and among ignorant men, vice and crime has been most prevalent, what are the causes that have operated to keep mankind in ignorance. I think I may safely answer, the belief in a future state of existence has been the principal one. This is the direct tendency of this doctrine, and I may say the direct object for which it was instituted. It is impossible that any man, or set of men, sincerely believing in it, can be otherwise than ignorant; because, it must become the very centre of their ideas, every other object must be neglected to attain this grand one. Of what importance can be Literature, or the Arts and Sciences, or any thing else that is not directed directly to the object in view, to men who believe in such a doctrine as this, none whatever; their object is how they shall obtain future life, they must be continually at prayer, their whole time and attention directed to attain this grand object; it follows then as a natural consequence that such men must become every day more ignorant. And if we refer to history it will point out most clearly that such is the fact. Rome, for example, before Christianity was established, Rome was every thing that was great, her Arts and Sciences had risen to a pitch,

which if equalled have never been excelled since. But no sooner had Christianity established itself in the minds of the people, then she sunk into ignorance and barbarism. And if we look at our own country, or in fact at any country, it will obviously illustrate my argument. What has been the cause of the improvement in the condition of England, from the barbarism and ignorance into which it was sunk four or five centuries since. The cause is obvious to the commonest capacity; as religion has been shaken off, as the belief in a future state has less doated upon, we have gradually improved. And with very little observation, even in the present day, we shall find that the most enlightened men, are those who least attach themselves to religion, and religious parties. Another of the ill effects, produced in a great measure by a belief in this doctrine, is poverty. Convinced I am, that the condition of the poorer classes of society would be improved, very much improved, if this doctrine were eradicated from their minds; because they would then have a stimulus to exertion; instead of building there hopes on a future state, they would exert themselves to be as happy and comfortable as possible. But what now is the fact, many, very many, men, instead of exerting themselves to support themselves and families in as comfortable a manner as possible, are attending prayer meetings, subscribing to Bible and Missionary Societies, and so forth; and if they are embarrassed in circumstances, instead of stimulating them to exertion, it attaches them more firmly to religion, they console themselves with the idea that the poorer they are in this world, the richer they will be in the next.

It has been asked how Deists can reconcile to their consciences, the bitter cries of thousands whose hopes they have destroyed. The answer is simple and easy; those who have rejected the doctrine upon the evidence that has been adduced against it, so far from uttering bitter cries, so far from desponding under such circumstances, will be grateful to the honest patriots, who have rescued them and their posterity, from the fangs of interested priests; who in spite of persecution of the most malignant kind, have still dared to point out the absurdities of the illusive dogmas they have been believing.

This doctrine has been pictured also as a most powerful support and consolation in circumstances of distress. For my own part I can see in it no consolation, is it a consola-

tion and support when an individual has lost some relation or friend whom he has much-valued. No? It must indeed be to him a terror; he knows not whether his friend will be lifted to the mansions of eternal bliss, or whether he will be tormented in hell; he is in doubt and fear, surely then this can be no consolation, no support to him, in such a situation. Picture on the other hand a Deist, under such circumstances. He will look upon his loss like a philosopher, he is in no anxious fears about the fate of his friend's soul, he is certain he will perish in the earth, he knows it is the common fate of all, and the regular course of nature, and will therefore look upon it as such. Is it then a consolation to an individual whose family is in a state of starvation; if it is, it is a horrible one; instead of stimulating him to exertion for their support, it encourages a despondency fatal to his welfare. To this I would also answer that such distress would probably never have existed, had it not been for this very doctrine.

Such then are the effects produced by a belief in the doctrine of a future state of existence; and can we look upon them without horror; can we countenance such a dogma by our silence; or can we (to say nothing of the Book upon which it is founded) recommend it as a valuable boon to the rising generation? I think not; it behoves every Deist, and friend of his country, to openly avow his opinions, and act upon them accordingly.

Let them instruct their children in their moral duty, and instead of suffering them to waste their time in reading the Bible, learning Church Catechisms, and all such ridiculous nonsense, and exciting in their minds a superstitious veneration for religion, let them read such books as will both amuse and instruct, and it will excite an inquiring ardour in their minds, which will produce the best effects to themselves and society.

TO RICHARD CARLILE.

SIR,

Liverpool, Feb. 6th. 1822.

IMPELLED by a conviction of the truth of the principles you profess, we beg to offer you our best thanks for the noble stand you have made against the infuriated professors of a popular system of error and superstition.

Bigotry, has ever been the parent of vice, the abettor of crime, and the promoter of cruelty and persecution; and every system of religion which has arisen in the world from the earliest recorded periods, has originated in ignorance, has been cherished by blood, and had its consummation in the subjugation of every principle which ennobles man, or distinguishes him from the brute creation; and even under the Christian dispensation, avowedly the mildest that has been propagated, more blood has been shed than can be attributed to the influence of every other passion, which disgraces human nature.

If it could be proved that the spread of revealed religion had produced a redeeming degree of virtue or happiness, or had tended in the least to lessen the sum of human misery, we might give it a favourable consideration; but, when we find that the darkest pages of history record the deeds of those times, when superstition has had the greatest influence over the minds of men, and when our own experience teaches us, that Priests and the dupes of Priests, are the supporters of tyranny, and the instigators to persecution, we cannot but look upon Christianity, and indeed all other systems of religion which are not deduced solely from nature and reason, as the greatest curses of society.

The benefits you have rendered by fearlessly disseminating the works of that great Apostle of Reason THOMAS PAINÉ, entitle you to the warmest gratitude of the lovers of truth in the present generation, and will give you a place in the affections of posterity, when time shall have consigned to oblivious contempt the very names of your enemies and persecutors.

Dark and gloomy as are the present days, we hope to live in times when the clouds of ignorance, and superstition shall be dispersed, when the moral horizon shall be clear and spotless, when the SUN OF REASON shall shine in all the glorious fulgence of meridian splendour, and the edifices of idolatry shall be converted into temples of truth, where mankind may assemble to contemplate the purity of

that religion which the GREAT ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE has revealed in his works, to ALL mankind, works which stand imperishable monuments of the mutability of creeds, works which shall survive the wreck of priesthood, and the crush of canon law.

You Sir, have been a faithful and zealous servant in the cause of truth: continue your efforts and they must be crowned with success; our hearts, and the hearts of every REAL FREE MAN are with you.

Finally, to convince you and the world, that we are not your friends in words alone, we beg to transmit you a portion of the worldly good, which we have been able to save from the grasp of our corrupt governors, and hope shortly to establish some means of supplying you with our periodical contributions, to enable you to persevere in the cause of virtue, and of truth.

We remain, your true friends and brethren,
THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE FUND.

With this address a Ten Pound Bank of England note was received. A private letter of thanks has been returned.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

DEAR SIR, *Newgate, Feb. 6th. 1822.*

WE have just heard of the conduct of your unfeeling enemies, at Fleet Street. We are unable to express our indignation at such villainy, but we fervently hope you will live to have justice done you for all your sufferings.

We beg you will not give yourself any trouble on our account; we will not accept of any pecuniary assistance until your affairs are in a different situation to what they are at present.

H. BOYLE.

W. V. HOLMES.

JOSEPH RHODES.

JOHN BARKLEY.

As a mark of admiration for the virtues of such men, the above article is made public, and the subscribers may be assured, that, the first prisoner from the Temple of Reason, who confines himself to Gaol allowance, as a matter of necessity, shall be

R. CARLILE.

THOMAS PAINE.

The difficulty of obtaining information respecting the private characters of those who opposed established creeds and opinions, is well exemplified by the following circumstance. It was well related to the writer, by the late Mr. Robert Sutcliff, a well known and most respectable Member of the Society of Friends, and author of Travels in the United States :—Entering an Inn at Burford, in Virginia, he thus addressed some persons who were in the same room :—“The celebrated Thomas Paine lives in this town, I am informed; what kind of a character does he bear here ?” “ Oh ! he is a drunken profligate fellow ! you may see him drunk in this house every day of the week.” In this the whole company agreed. A little time after, the landlady, who was not then in the room, brought in Mr. Sutcliff’s dinner ; whilst she was attending him, he said to her, “ I understand Thomas Paine often comes to this house, and is frequently drunk here ?” To which she replied, “ No, Sir, he never was in this house, that I know of at any time : he comes to the window every morning for his letters, and that is all we see of him.” The persons who had given first information being thus convicted of falsehood, appeared very angry, and said that if he did not get drunk there, they were sure he got drunk somewhere. To which the landlady replied—“ I can readily believe that; for I never had a good opinion of him since he sold the Americans to the English during the war.”—“ Pray how did he betray the Americans ?” “ When he had the command of a fort on the Delaware, he supplied them with black sand instead of gunpowder :—he is a very bad man : and yet he does more good to the poor of Burford than any other person in the place.” “ In what way ?” “ By visiting them when they are sick, and relieving their distresses.” These circumstances do not require comment.—*Monthly Magazine.*

J. JONES returns his sincere thanks to the amiable and patriotic Lady, who left the following note, with a subscription, at 55, Fleet Street; and feels himself highly honoured in receiving the approbation of so virtuous and patriotic a female, born in that land of liberty, a land that suffers not that animal called a king to disgrace its soil.

“ Fourth Subscription to the English Patriot, J. Jones, who volunteered his services in the *Temple of Reason*, Fleet Street; by an American Lady, 2s. 6d.”

THE Proceedings of the 29th of January, the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine, are delayed for another week, for the purpose of concentrating and exhibiting them to one view. The reports from London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Stockport, Stokesley, not forgetting the brave fellows in Newgate, have reached Dorchester Gaol: we wait for Leeds, and a few other places.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 9.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. B. is informed that his note was received on the 4th instant, and the sovereign on the same day. The bearer was not admitted to see R. C. nor was any communication made through the officers of the Prison; but he has learnt from the shopman, who is now in Newgate, that the message was an offer of a dozen of wine. R. C. returns his thanks for the kind offer, but begs to observe, that he drinks no wine at his own expence, and therefore he does not desire it at the expence of another, for, if it were as cheap as milk, he would give the preference to good milk; but he is candidly instructed to say on the part of Mrs. C. and his sister, that they prefer an occasional glass of wine to milk or water. A letter of thanks would have been addressed to R. B. if his address had been known, or if the shop in Fleet Street had not been closed by the Public Robbers. For the moment the present is the only available channel for communication.

Janus is informed, that No. 45, of the North Briton, will be copied into the Republican, with a suitable historical preface.

Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street. All Communications (post paid) are requested to be sent to Dorchester Gaol, until a further Address to some House or Shop be given.—Orders, with remittances, or references for payment, will be punctually attended to. Country Agents will find the most liberal Terms for prompt Payment.